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THE CASE STATED:

# THE FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

OF

## THE AMERICAN SLAVE,

BY

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LONDON,

Manchester:

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## THE CASE STATED.

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THE answer of the Lord Jesus Christ to the question, "Who is my Neighbour?" presents the divine measure which is unchangeable, of mutual benevolence, enjoined on all mankind. The Good Samaritan is a comprehensive model. The commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is permanent and of paramount obligation; and the law is of universal authority, whose prescription is, "as ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." The Christian should therefore feel bound to cherish the oppressed and enthralled of every land, as the legitimate objects of his compassion, and, according to his ability, he will combine with others to break every yoke and promote the freedom of all that are in bonds. The Redeemer assumed the office of one "sent to heal the broken-hearted,—to preach deliverance to the captives,—to set at liberty them that are bruised;" and such will ever be the aim of his consistent and faithful ministers. They have not so learned the law of their Creator as to acknowledge that any man can righteously have property and control over the soul and body of his fellow-man. He alone who has ransomed the Church with his own blood can require mankind to submit to his proprietary control, and only in his name can it be said, "ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a price; therefore, glorify God in your body and spirit, which are God's." The Slavery of Man, under the bondage of his fellow-man, is incompatible with the natural rights of every man, and cannot be maintained in any Christian relation, except in defiance of that principle which elevates the converted servant above a servant, and renders him a brother beloved to the minister, honoured in his conversion; but much more to the former master, if a Christian, both in the flesh and in the Lord.

The *Census* of the United States, taken in 1860, numbers 3,953,751, men, women, and children, held as Slaves by about 350,000 persons, reputed as owners of their enthralled fellow-creatures; of these millions many have been herded together like cattle, that they might increase their numbers to provide a supply for the market,—sold and bought according to the proportions of their frame, the elasticity of their muscles, and the vigour of their constitution; bid for competition at the auction mart, disposed of in lots, or severally, at the pleasure of the traffickers; every feeling of delicacy, every endearment of parental tenderness, and every bond of infantile sympathy or dependence crushed, violated, and set at naught. Besides the actual Slaves, it is conjectured there may be nearly 600,000 more who inherit many consequences of Slavery as people of colour, every one of whom, in 1860, was deemed or exposed to the treatment of a Slave, unless he could by legal documents prove his acquired freedom. Thus all natives of America, and all strangers, who sustained relation by blood and colour to the African race, were subjected to the ignominy, privations and toils, the laceration and bereavements of bondage, the sufferings and sorrows of the Slave. The description given of the servitude to which these millions have been reduced, is labour without

wages and toil without respite, so long as life continues; during which, both men and women, the child and the aged, are held under this violent constraint; while their task-master is the alone practical judge of the kind, degree, and time of labour, and of the subsistence received by the Slave. The owner himself can imprison, beat, wound, scourge, and in any way injure the body, grieve and vex the spirit of the bond-man, or depute such power to the lowest menial, or a fellow-slave. He can wrench asunder at his caprice, or for his profit, the ties of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, and make merchandise of the natural attractions of innocent woman. To meet his exigences, creditors, taxgatherers, or legatees, the Slave, his wife, children, or parents, or the produce of his hands can be seized, sold or alienated in lots, or severally, so that unknown, unfeeling, unrighteous men-stealers and traffickers in Slaves may call them their goods; no remonstrance avails, no right of redemption is reserved; while the death of the tyrant or owner only more severely embitters and surely rivets the manacles, aggravates the yoke, and causes the iron to enter the deeper into the soul of the victim.

No language could depict the carnival of crime and woe which must follow this violation of natural right. But it is enough to fill every human mind with horror, to be assured that the Slave-holding citizens of the United States commenced the present conflict in that country, with a demand for a large extent of territory for the further development of this system and polity; and having by the infraction of compromises, by the perversion of Statutes, by legislative modifications and judicial decisions, by persistent encroachments on States which were free from and abhorred Slavery, by purchase, compact, or contemplated conquest, sought to render all the continent of America and its adjacent isles subject to the pollutions and usurpations of Slavery. The exciting struggle connected with the Fugitive Slave-law, while passing through the legislature; the litigation which preceded the "Dred Scott" decision, the violent efforts to incorporate Kansas as a Slave State, and to intrude Slavery into California, and so invigorate the Senatorial Slave power; the pathetic chivalry of Captain John Brown and his heroic death; the oft-repeated efforts of Slaves to escape from thralldom, and of their friends to restrict the power and limit the area of Slave-holding dominion, have not been unheeded in Europe; and even those who but partially knew the difficulties to be encountered, and the self sacrifices to be made by the earnest and faithful champions of the downtrodden negro, sympathized in the events. Many hearts eagerly panted for success to Colonel Freemont when a candidate, and exulted in the election of the present supreme Magistrate of the United States, because their policy was favourable to liberty and offered resistance to the growth of Slavery. It is an honour to be permitted to sympathize in the events now contemplated.

Eighty-six years ago, the Fathers of the American Republic recognised as self-evident truths the affirmations, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new



Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The circumstances to which the United States owed their early prosperity, have been traced by many hands; but by none more truly than by one who affirmed they "will be found to consist in liberal institutions wisely and faithfully administered; a rigid adherence to the constitution, without which, one branch of the Government usurps the prerogatives of another; a perfect submission to the will of the people constitutionally expressed; a universal desire to promote the common good, and an intimate union for this end; a strict and impartial administration of justice,—the liberty which every one enjoys of employing his time and means in improving his condition without the interference of the Government; the equality of all before the law; direct and purely popular elections, which elevate the character of the mass of the people,—and lastly, the means of education abundant and cheap, which makes the people capable of governing themselves." Let these principles and circumstances be ensured and applied to coloured and white men in the United States, and where will Slavery appear?

But what now is the source and cause of American trouble and wide-spread calamity; in which every friend of mankind may cordially express his sympathy? President Jefferson answered this question as if by prophetic augury and far-seeing intelligence. "What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty; and the next moment be deaf to all those motives, whose power supported him through his trial; and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await with patience the workings of an over-ruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunders, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality." The *exterminating thunder* has boomed from the instruments of war. God can make the wrath of man to praise him and restrain the remainder of that wrath. He must be sceptical indeed who would ascribe to *blind fatality* the events of the last three years in America. Ingratitude and indiscriminate must be the failing of such as do not observe the diffusion of light and liberality among many who once inflicted cruel bondage on their fellow-men. The friend of the Slave must thankfully acknowledge that a God [of justice has given to the United States a President as their chief-ruler, so kindred in sympathy and sentiment with Jefferson, and so placed in Providence as to be able to give effect to the policy which that great Patriot enunciated.

France and England had revolved such utterances as the language of humanity and patriotism, and as the growing conviction of American statesmen and rulers; and it was fondly imagined that the era was near its dawn, when Slavery should be doomed, as it had been denounced by her philanthropists; and when its abettors, enlightened

and warned, would seek a peaceful solution of their great national problem. It was believed that the United States had already contended with, and overcome greater difficulties than might be found in the way of the enfranchisement of the negroes. They had secured their national independence, amidst many dangers and sacrifices; though that was not to wipe away so foul a blot, as Slavery was upon their banners. When war had been brought to their borders they were enabled to repel the invader. They had opened paths in the primeval forest, reared cities in the wilderness, and found ports in every part of the world for their produce and commerce. They had risen from being a colony of outcast pilgrim Fathers to occupy an equality with the greatest nations, and be welcomed as a confederate with the most renowned empires on the earth. No menace could daunt them, and no foe dared insult with impunity their national honour. Their sails were unfurled and their standard floated in every region, on every sea, and before every wind. They had become a great nation and might legitimately contemplate the noblest and most philanthropic achievements.

Strangers should not presumptuously intermeddle in political subtleties, or debate as to the power, prerogatives, or relative obligations of the several States in the Federal Union. The language and declarations of official men, however, and the ordinances of Seceding States, are published as the manifestoes of those concerned. The Vice-President of the Confederacy is no subordinate authority, and his frank avowal, so far as it has been corroborated by documentary authority, leaves Europe in no doubt as to the end contemplated by the leaders of the warlike Secession. The accredited causes of the present conflict countenance no hesitation, and open no subterfuge for the disputant. South Carolina "declares" as ends for which the Federal constitution was framed, "the formation of a more perfect Union; the establishment of justice, insuring of domestic tranquility, providing for the common defence, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity;" which *ends*, she affirms, "have been defeated," and she adds, "the Government itself has been destructive of them, by the action of the *non-Slaveholding States*. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions, and have denied the rights of property established in Fifteen of the States, and recognised by the constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of Slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them, of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace of and eloin the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our Slaves to leave their homes, and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures to servile insurrection." To the last complaint, it might be replied in the words of inspiration—the higher law—"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant, which has escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in the place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." The State of Alabama founded their reasons of *Secession*, on the "election of a President and Vice-President by a sectional party, avowedly hostile to the domestic institution" (Slavery). Texas pleads that "recent developments in federal affairs make it evident

that the power of the Federal Government is sought to be made a weapon with which to strike down the interests and property of the people of Texas and her sister Slave-holding States." Virginia urges the same reasons, "The Federal Government having perverted said powers, not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but to the oppression of the Southern Slave-holding States." President Buchanan in his message on 3rd Dec., 1860, affirms that the peril mainly arises from "the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the Slavery question, throughout the north, for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on the Slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar." To crown all their complaints, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, having discriminated the plague-spot of the old constitution of the Union, heralds with exulting cheer the grand discovery made by the Seceding politicians assembled at Montgomery, in Alabama.

"The new Constitution has put at rest for ever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution, African slavery as it exists among us,—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of the day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. The idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time.

"Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.

"This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. It is the first Government ever instituted upon principles of strict conformity to nature, and the ordination of Providence in furnishing the materials of human society. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world. This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, 'is become the chief stone of the corner' in our new edifice. It is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in our eyes."

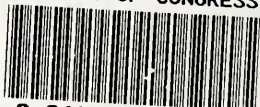
Such and similar avowals and convictions founded on *data* thus presented, no doubt moved the French protestant clergy to express their fraternal counsels and aspirations to the protestant ministers of all denominations in Britain, in their letter which has been made public. Seven hundred and fifty, a large proportion of the entire clerical body of protestants in France, inscribed their names. No such combination of names and object ever previously occurred in the intercourse of Europe, and a letter, so universally approved, deserves the most respectful and considerate attention. Men of all classes and religious distinctions throughout all the States of America will duly appreciate it, as the utterance of pure Christian philanthropy, and breathing the spirit of divine benevolence, not alone for the negro, but also for all who may be involved in his doom. The letter has been diffused among Ministers of the Episcopal and Presbyterian, Inde-



pendent and Baptist Churches; Wesleyans and Methodists of all sections and other denominations have received it. Some may have unthinkingly thrown it aside as an ordinary printed circular; but thousands have cordially responded in reply—the form of which was designedly prepared in brief to secure a cordial adhesion to both the contents and object of the letter from France. It is a high gratification to the Ministers, now united in this manifestation of fraternal sympathy and interest, to be found in such association, and enabled to address, in the bonds of a common Christianity the representative leaders of all the citizens of the Great American Republic in behalf of Millions of Negroes, who are passing through this crisis of their destiny on earth, and whose future descendents may for many generations inherit the fruit of this momentous movement. The Anglo-Saxon, as well as the Negro race are deeply concerned in the issues of this terrible hour. Not alone the American Republic, but the whole civilized world must participate in the ominous or auspicious conclusions to which this war must lead. Territories and kingdoms; princes and peasants; the sons of toil and the possessors of capital; all kindreds and tribes; governors as well as the governed, wherever the region they inhabit lies, in the temperate and the torrid zone—all ages and times; Christianity and the world are destined to be influenced, depressed, dishonoured, or exalted as the despotism of the Slave-holder prevails, or as the righteousness of equal government is made to triumph.

But already the shadows begin to disperse and the cloud is edged with the radiance of a rising luminary. Slavery has been abolished as suggested by the President in the District of Columbia—the representative centre of the Republic, where there were 3,181 Slaves when the last census was taken, and to which every Slave-holder of the Union might have brought his fellow-men and sold them as chattels. Nor was this boon exacted for the Slave without a national compensation. Slave-trading piracy at sea is a thing sentenced to capital punishment by the Supreme Magistrate, and a precedent for its execution has been established. Slave-trading vessels are now subjected to the right of search, by reciprocal treaty between England and America, in such latitudes on the high seas as were formerly scoured with impunity under the United States Flag.

The Territories of the Republic are henceforward guarded by law against the intrusion and pollution of internal Slavery; sacred as the land of the brave and the free, and destined to become the homes of industry, commerce and Christian fellowship. Emancipation has been enacted for the Slaves in Western Virginia, and embodied as an organic law in the State constitution, when admitted to the Union recently. The proclamation of the President has brought liberty to myriads of Slaves, held in bondage in the disloyal South, and the first day of 1863 will be identified with the name of President Lincoln, in the history of many future citizens of the United States. Hayti and Liberia admitted to the brotherhood of American nations, now number their diplomatic representatives with the ambassadors of Imperial Sovereigns, at the Capital of the Republic. It is not unworthy of the gratulatory acknowledgments of the friends of the Government, that while such measures were initiated or promoted by the President and his Cabinet, they have been accepted by the cordial



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and almost unanimous voice of the people confidence in the Magistrate and the devotion of a mighty nation; nor should it be forgotten that the man born forth within the recognized Territory of the *Union* is a citizen of the Republic according to the legal decision of the Attorney-General. What logic can exclude the Negro from this position? May the day soon dawn when the President's counsel will be accepted, and the measure he recommends pass into law, so that all the loyal States may emancipate their bondmen, and the whole *Union* be willing to share in the responsibility and expense. Even now, hundreds of thousands of negroes, Slaves when Mr. Lincoln first occupied the Presidential Chair, are not only freedmen, but also servants of the *State*, and actively co-operate for the redemption of their native country. They are Americans, though coloured men, and ready to make every sacrifice for the restoration of peace, the establishment of liberty, and the triumph of equitable Government.

What darker or more dreary calamity could threaten any nation or people on earth, than the successful establishment of a Republic, whose corner-stone shall be "that the negro is not equal to the white man, and that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition." The curse, then entailed, will extend its poisonous influence far beyond the utmost verge of the black population. But the governments ruling them, with all the white population, will be involved in the moral degradation, corruption, and bondage. Nor will the States holding relation to them, and the merchants made rich by their merchandise and favour, ultimately escape the contaminating influence. Nothing would be more true than the language of the French pastors: "The triumph of such a cause would put back the progress of Christian civilization and of humanity a whole century. It would make angels weep in heaven, and demons rejoice in hell." But such a Confederacy cannot prosper, though hand join in hand. It must be broken in pieces, since the Judge of the whole earth doeth right. Righteousness exalteth a people, and the path of the just is like the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. Let the rulers and statesmen of the North, representing the true and faithful States, pursue the course of freedom, equity, and universal liberty; and especially endeavour to requite the African people by a God-like benevolence for the ten thousand wrongs which have been inflicted on them; and they will find it both more pleasant and more safe and easy to do justice, to love mercy, to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, than it is to do evil with both hands. With what renovated energy, with what moral power, with what hallowed consistency and honourable courage, will the whole nation then be able to go up to their highest destiny. Then will the work of righteousness be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever; and the people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places. The greatness of the Republic will be identified with goodness, and its name shall be as ointment poured forth. It will have wiped from its banner every dark stain, inconsistent with liberty, to which heretofore the finger of derision has been pointed, by the scorning of every despot and every enemy of the rights of man, and establish a claim to the admiration of all enlightened men.



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